DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 147 982 EA 010 180

AUTHOR Scott, J. Glenn; And Others
TITLE The Shape of Educational Management: The Declining Years of the '70s.
PUB DATE 77
NOTE 38p.; Paper presented at the Regional Series of Conferences sponsored by The Ontario School Trustees' Council in cooperation with The Ministry of Education--Ontario (Toronto, Ontario, November 10-12, 1977)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Administrative Personnel; Boards of Education; *Declining Enrollment; *Educational Administration; *Educational Planning; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Leadership Qualities; Personnel Management; Policy Formation; Political Influences; *Resource Allocations; Retrenchment; *Teacher Morale; Teacher Motivation
IDENTIFIERS Ontario

ABSTRACT

The author begins by examining the historical, social, political, and economic factors that have reversed the expansionary phase of educational organizations from the standpoint of their implications for leadership requirements. Three overlapping areas of concern are identified and appropriate leadership skills and strategies within those areas are discussed. The three areas are, generally, planning, personnel, and politics. More specifically, the author is concerned with the allocation of resources in a time of retrenchment, the morale and motivation of teachers, and the role of their constituencies in the leadership approach taken by administrators and trustees. (Author/IRT)

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ED147982

THE SHAPE OF EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT: THE DECLINING YEARS OF THE '70s

by

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The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

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A Paper Presented at the Regional Series of Conferences

Sponsored by

The Ontario School Trustees' Council

In cooperation with

The Ministry of Education--Ontario

The Ontario Association of Education Administrative Officials

The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

1977

Toronto -- November 10, 11, 12

Ottawa -- November 17, 18, 19

Niagara Falls -- December 1, 2, 3

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Introduction

Schools are in decline. We are entering a period of retrenchment. These statements have been made over and over in the media and might be called the laments of the 1970s. The concepts of decline and retrenchment, however, have implications in the current societal context far beyond the facts of smaller enrolments and decreasing revenues. There is danger that school administrators and trustees will treat today's problems as "acts of God," as not amenable to modification by rational decision making. The result would be a defeatist attitude. While no decisions and no behaviors on the part of school boards or administrators can reverse the birth rate or the economic situation, a reasoned examination of the broader ramifications of the situation could lead to positive, creative decisions in the interests of young people. Yet, as Luvern Cunningham has pointed out, educational leaders are not prepared psychologically or substantively to deal with the trauma of decline.[1] We are so accustomed

to thinking in terms of growth--more students, more teachers, more buildings--that thoughts of fewer students, fewer teachers, fewer buildings produce near paranoia.

The purpose of this paper is not to describe the change that we are experiencing in education, particularly the statistics. Other papers have addressed this purpose; the numbers are too well known. Rather, we will attempt to address some of the implications of these changes and the opportunities that they present for improving educational policy making and administration. Running through our paper is an emphasis on the need for a new accommodation among competing values and objectives in the areas of planning, personnel, and participation and politics.

It is important, then, not only to examine the historical, social, political, and economic factors that have reversed the expansionary phase of educational organizations, but it is also important to analyze these factors from the standpoint of their implications for leadership requirements. For leadership we must have! Indeed, it is relatively easy to provide leadership in an expanding state, when resources allow for trial-and-error experimentation and loose decision making. In a declining state the stakes for failure come high. The price to be paid for the abandonment of leadership attempts may be the quality of public education as we know it today.

As we examine many of the events and decisions of the 1960s and 1970s, the contrasting emphases between the two decades will become clearer. Let us remember, for a moment, the "good old days"--the Golden Age of Education in Ontario--the 1960s. The pace of educational change in Ontario increased at an unprecedented rate during those years. Among the government-initiated changes were:

-the reorganized program for secondary schools in 1962 (the Robarts plan);

-two complete revisions of the provincial grant structure in 1964 and 1969;

-reorganization of the Department of Education in 1965;

-establishment of OISE in 1965;

-emergence of colleges of applied arts and technology in 1966;

-abolition of the provincial grade 13 examinations in 1967;

-abolition of the position of school inspector and the emergence of the position of program consultant in 1967;

-publication of a major study of the aims and objectives of education in 1968;

-creation of the county boards of education in 1969 (total number of boards decreased from 1,358 to 192); and

-development of the credit system for secondary schools in 1969.

The 1960s certainly were days of innovation as well as of expansion. Expectations for the individual and social economic benefits of education were allowed to escalate beyond all reasonable hope of realizing the objectives articulated. These rising expectations were encouraged by educational policy makers and professionals at all levels of society--federal, provincial, and municipal. All partners in the educational enterprise welcomed and cultivated an increasing proportion of the gross national product devoted to public education.

Probably no single document expresses so clearly our hopes for education as did Living and Learning, the report of the Committee on Aims and Objectives in 1968. Listen to the preamble:

> The Truth Shall Make You Free
>
> The underlying aim of education is to further man's unending search for truth. Once he possesses the means to truth, all else is within his grasp. Wisdom and understanding, sensitivity, compassion, and responsibility, as well as intellectual honesty and personal integrity, will be his guides in adolescence and his companions in maturity.

> This is the message that must find its way into the minds and hearts of all Ontario children. This is the key to open all doors. It is the instrument which will break the shackles of ignorance, of doubt, and of frustration; that will take all who respond to its call out of their poverty, their slums, and their despair; that will spur the talented to find heights of achievements and provide every child with the experience of success; that will give mobility to the crippled; that will illuminate the dark world of the blind and bring the deaf into communion with the hearing; that will carry solace to the disordered of mind, imagery to the slow of wit, and peace to the emotionally disturbed; that will make all men brothers, equal in dignity if not in ability; and that will not tolerate disparity of race, color, or creed.
>
> This above all is our task: to seek and to find the structure, the organization, the curriculum, and the teachers to make this aim a reality in our schools and in our time.[2]

Perhaps none of us ever really believed that the educational system could do all of those things; yet each of us viewed education as a "good" and its benefits to the individual and to society as worthwhile.

Let us now review some of the happenings of the 1970s. You will note a definite change in the tenor of these events:

-ceilings placed on educational expenditures -- 1970;

-OSSTF pink-lists the Metro Toronto Boards of Education; the Boards place a moratorium on hiring; the Reville Commission is formed -- 1970;

-Minister announces English and Canadian studies as compulsory subjects for secondary school students for 1973-74;

-school enrolments begin to decline; separate and public school boards are urged to share space, especially in Metro Toronto -- 1973 onward;

-OTF brief to the Ministry expresses objections to the Credit System; backlash begins to appear in the media -- 1973;

-Teachers begin to advance working conditions during negotiations -- 1973 onward;

-Teachers begin to use study sessions, work-to-rule, withdrawal of extra-curricular activities, pink-listing, and mass resignations -- 1973;

-Bills 274 and 275 introduced in the Legislature -- December 10, 1973; an estimated 30,000 teachers march on Queen's Park in protest -- December 18, 1973; both Bills died on the order papers;

-750 Windsor Secondary School Teachers withdraw their services -- December, 1974; 1,400 secondary teachers in Ottawa withdraw services without mass resignations -- February, 1975;

-Bill 100, The School Boards and Teachers Collective Negotiations Act, is enacted by the Legislature -- July 18, 1975;

-media continues to attack the quality of education -- 1975 onward;

-Henderson Committee Report recommends phasing out of OISE and of the regional offices -- 1976;

-OSSTF issues At What Cost? (a study of the role of the secondary school in Ontario) -- 1976;

-number of regional offices is reduced; functions are changed to focus on monitoring -- 1977;

-Minister announces new policy to be developed on pupil achievement evaluation; work group chaired by Foisy-Moon reports -- 1977;

-Minister announces 7 courses will be compulsory in Grades 9 and 10 -- 1977.

The 1970s could scarcely be called a decade of innovation and expansion. Indeed, we have already been in the process of reversing many of the innovative decisions and policies made in the 1960s, and our publics are questioning not only the worth of those innovations, but also the worth of formal education itself. Probably no one document summarizes the pessimism of the 1970s as well as does the report of OSSTF's committee on the role of the secondary school in Ontario. Witness these words from the introduction:

> The school is society's primary vehicle for transfer of information, pre-vocational and vocational training, socialization, and cultural transfer--and hence survival. It is also the structure in society that can best teach the young to modify their aspirations. The rejection of the concept of failure has allowed many of our students to travel through school without any clear understanding of their real strengths and real limitations. We must understand that it is more important to be honest and straightforward with students about their actual achievements and potentials than to pretend that their individual abilities are unlimited. Failure is an essential component in changing aspirations.[3]

Thus, in less than ten years, our rhetoric has moved from education as the key to open all doors, to education as the key to aspiration modification through the "joy" of failure. Living and Learning speaks of schools as mechanisms for realizing equality in educational opportunity; At What Cost? reminds us that it is in the nature of schools to be competitive. Just as all people did not share the expectations placed upon schools in the 1960s, so too not all teachers share the view espoused in the OSSTF report. Nevertheless, the contrast between the optimism of the former and the pessimism of the latter document is telling.

Probably at no time in our history has the morale of teachers been lower. What is perhaps overlooked is that the morale of trustees and administrators may be equally in need of a boost. For none of us knows how to deal with the politics of contraction, least of all politicians who are having to learn to say "no".

An examination of the characteristics of a declining organization will reveal that these factors impact on all members of the system--trustees, administrators, and teachers. Consider these characteristics:[4]

1. Leadership begins to age. In the case of teachers and administrators, this characteristic is easy to understand. Leadership is relatively young in the wake of promotion and mobility during a growth period, but few opportunities exist in a period of decline. The rule, "Last in, first out," means that the opportunity for younger persons to remain in education has been sharply reduced. What may be overlooked is that leadership may begin to age in the case of trustees as well. A former Toronto Board of Education member, for example, has posited that the younger person, who fancies himself a reformer, will lose interest in the trusteeship in a period when innovation may be improbable. He foresees a return to the trusteeship of persons now retired. In his words, "It's not much fun to wind down a system."[5]

2. Decline produces an oversupply of qualified professionals and a loss of joy. We have seen the statistics on the oversupply issue. Our teacher training institutions have been cutting down enrolments, and there is even talk of closing down some of these institutions or of changing their function to one of in-service rather than pre-service. We have heard of boards having to restructure, so that opportunities in superintendencies are drastically reduced. What do you do with a surplus of area superintendents when the family of schools structure dies? While this oversupply directly impinges on educators, the trustees are equally affected by the "loss of joy," since they must participate in decisions regarding personnel reductions and the like. Trustees have also seen a severe reduction in the perquisites of their job--for example, the freedom to attend conferences, use of limousines, and the like.

3. As the resource buffers between contending groups in the organization are eliminated, internal conflict becomes overt, and the organization has little experience in dealing with it. As March says, "The rules of consensus or executive wheeling and dealing that worked well earlier seem to be less effective in maintaining or moving the institution. Innovation and change through the classic growth techniques of incremental additions and resource bribery become less feasible."[6] The Minister of Education summed up the dilemma faced by all members of the educational system in the 1970s when he recently stated that we can no longer buy our way out of our problems.[7] The rule for programs seems also to be "Last in, first out," and there will be considerable bloodletting as boards and administrators grapple with prioritizing innovative programs in an era when not all can be funded. Will we cut back special education or heritage language programs? These will be typical questions posed in the coming months, and the search for answers will be difficult indeed.

Having identified the characteristics of a declining state, let us agree with March when he writes, "Declining institutions need leadership too. Geriatrics is as important in administration as it is in medicine."[8] If all members of the educational system in Ontario--teachers, trustees, and administrators--can recognize the common burden they share, perhaps the crisis and the trauma of decline can provide the context that will unite us in a common front. Given a unity of purpose, we can turn around the pessimism that pervades us all to an optimism we can all share, and we can confront the current realities and reshape even the purposes of our education system.

Let us, then, examine the aspects of the current context other than those of declining student enrolments. First and foremost, this era is one in which, by 1980, probably two out of three taxpayers may be nonparents. Already we have heard from several chief executive officers that the phone calls they now receive are coming more and more from citizens who have no children in school. It will not be long before our citizenry realizes that twenty-five percent of their rents goes into taxes and that over one-half of that tax bill goes to education. For those having no children, the reaction can be anticipated. Indeed, it has been suggested that, if these nonparents ever get organized, the decline we now face in educational resources would appear to be insignificant. Thus we must recognize the need for a marketing concept--we must begin to sell education as a societal "good" once more. This concept is already in operation in the United States. Some boards have hired numerous public relations persons, have students working in homes for the aged, have expanded their adult and continuing education functions, and have even purchased prime time on television stations to communicate the "education-is-good" message.

Another aspect we must face in Ontario, especially in our urban areas, is the change in our student clientele, not just in terms of numbers, but also in terms of their ethnic and language backgrounds. In the City of Toronto, for example, teachers from relevant ethnic groups have only been hired in significant numbers in recent years; yet they may be the first to go. This may lead to a collision course that could end up in the courts. Federations and boards alike must anticipate the kinds of human rights cases that may confront us in future. We do not want educational change to be in the hands of the judicial system.

Further, boards and administrators must be particularly sensitive to the needs of particular school communities. Staff allocation formulae must be reviewed from a humanitarian yet realistic standpoint. For example, the federations have been arguing for reduced pupil-teacher ratios on the basis of the greater heterogeneity among students in the 1970s. We cannot assume that groups previously placing few demands will remain silent in the light of inequitable treatment. For example, consider the case of a particular public school in the Jane-Finch corridor of the North York Board. That school has an enrolment of some 700 youngsters, 300 of whom will leave and be replaced by 300 others during the course of this school year. Although roughly half of the students enter the school not speaking English, there is only one ESL teacher. There are twenty-six countries represented in the student population. Staff turnover is as high as student turnover. The community has the highest delinquency rate in North York, and cases of child abuse and child molesting abound. Average class size is 27 to 30. Yet the board has made no effort to treat this school differently in terms of staff or resource allocation, because the formulae are based on the family of schools. At the same time, other schools in North York may have barely enough pupils to justify their

remaining open.[9] The problem is not merely one of the unevenness of decline, though it includes that; but more importantly, it is a problem of priority setting in an age of scarce resources.

These are but a few of the underlying issues that exist in the context of today's society. If we can agree that administration is the profession of leadership and the art of intelligently coping with an arbitrary fate,[10] then we can begin to tackle those problems that face us. Above all, the members of Ontario's educational system must begin cooperatively to reexamine the functions of formal education, to examine the strengths of that system, to prioritize resource allocations that will serve the needs of society in the 1970s, and to communicate their strengths and their intentions to the citizenry.

The depression decade of the 1930s can provide an example for all of us. Enrolments were low, faculty salaries were cut seriously, and institutional budgets were frequently cut fifty percent or more; yet this was one of the most creative periods in the history of North American education. Among the creative developments of that era were diagnostic testing, new kinds of vocational programs, and the emergence of progressive education as a major force.[11]

The challenges of identifying creative strategies and of making informed and humanitarian decisions should serve as the cornerstone for today's leaders. The solutions will not be in the form of "add-on's," but rather they must be based on a more objective articulation of goals and means. We hope, today, to inform the deliberations that trustees, teachers, and administrators must cooperatively conduct, and we hope to stimulate an excitement, an eagerness, to meet the challenges we all face.

We turn now to a consideration of more specific areas of concern facing school administrators and trustees, problems whose solution will require a reexamination of skills and strategies needed by both administrators and trustees. One assumption at the outset is that, whereas both trustees and administrators must redirect their efforts in an era of decline, their responsibilities and contributions are of a different nature. The chief executive officer and his principal assistants must develop broad, long-term understandings of the school system and must exercise human, technical, and conceptual skills effectively to provide leadership in a creative way. The trustee role must emphasize a partnership relation with administration and a linking and mediating function with the community at large. There is no change, either, in the assumption that ultimate responsibility for the management of the system rests with the trustees.

The concerns that will be described in this section are serious ones, even as the whole business of managing decline is serious. So much of our social fabric is built into our educational endeavours, especially at the local level, that failure to deal with current educational problems effectively will endanger the delicate balance now existing among societal institutions--a balance that now permits the delivery to the majority of citizens of education, health care, municipal services, and welfare.

Three separate areas of concern will be identified, and possible appropriate leadership skills and strategies will be discussed. They are not necessarily discrete areas; there is considerable overlap, and there is no attempt at an exhaustive listing. The focus is on governance and administration, with a corresponding lesser emphasis on program adjustments as a result of declining enrolments.

Planning--Resource Aggregation and Allocation

In the development of this paper, we engaged in a process of checking out our perceptions of the problem areas and challenges faced by trustees and administrators in a period of retrenchment. This process involved a search of the research and theoretical literature--small at present, but growing in the area of the management of decline--and a series of interviews with practicing administrators and researchers in Ontario. From both sources--those studying and writing about the phenomenon of decline and those involved in administering organizations experiencing decline--we received frequent references to the need for more systematic, long-range planning in educational systems. Inevitably, discussion of long-range planning focused on the whole area of resource aggregation and resource allocation.

One of the more recent and systematic studies into the effects of declining enrolments demonstrated that resource allocation patterns were significantly different in growing and declining districts.[12] Decline raises fixed costs and lowers the pupil-teacher ratio. When the loss of economies to scale are also taken into account with the lower pupil-teacher ratio, the cost per student is far higher in declining than in growing areas.[13] This finding highlights the need for trustees and administrators to be very clear in understanding and in communicating to their various constituencies the disproportionate amount of resources required in a declining organization. There is not a strong positive correlation between declining enrolments in elementary and secondary schools and expenditures for delivery of educational services.

It is incumbent upon those responsible for local school districts to enter the larger social policy arena and to make a convincing case that public elementary and secondary education continues to require and deserve a sizeable proportion of the funds allocated in the social service domain.

This case has to be made from a knowledgeable and studied perspective, which requires long-range planning at the local level. In a time of increasingly scarce resources, the competition for public funds becomes keener. The participants in the competition must be informed, not only on local policy making directed to educational objectives based on demonstrated needs, but also on broad policy making at the provincial level. In this process, we cannot ignore the variety of demands placed upon the provincial government.

In many ways, this is a new role for local trustees and amdinistrators. Historically, educational policy making has taken place outside, or separate from, other provincial and national policy activity. This separation, supposedly, was made to insure that educational policy decisions were non-political or "above politics." This luxury is fast eluding us. Educators have to become involved in the broader planning <u>for</u> education as distinguished from planning <u>in</u> education, which has been the typical role for trustees and administrators. Robert Jennings, for example, describes the interface between planning <u>for</u> education and planning <u>in</u> education as the place at which planning and politics meet.[14] If this view is accepted, educators have two choices: simply to accept the established policy goals and directions as defined in the political process and assume a "guardian" role for education; or to move vigorously to become participants in the policy making and comprehensive planning activities of the province.

We would suggest that such vigorous participation needs to be fortified by strong, unified, and visible trustee and administrator associations. We need not look too far to see an effective model in place in this province. We submit that a cooperative stance on the part of all interested groups would increase dramatically the influence that each group could exert separately.

Turning to school system planning, we argue that the need for long-term planning is equally critical and, indeed, provides the capability to move into the larger public policy arena. From our interviews, it seems clear that the long-term planning needs derive from three major sources: demography of the district, financing of the enterprise, and required personnel. This cluster of sources suggests that today, more than ever, school systems require administrators--be they the chief executive officer or his principal assistants--skilled in demographic and financial analysis. Maybe we are saying that the educational administrator has to become more of a "social analyst"--one who is aware of, and able to take into account in the planning process, the social, economic,and political forces that impinge upon the provision of a public education service. Certainly, it suggests that educators must insure that the system has capability in the areas of enrolment forecasting (involving knowledge of fertility, birth and mortality rates, migration patterns, growth structures, and age structures), financial forecasting, and personnel deployment (involving reliable data on teacher mobility, leaving and returning patterns, and retirement).

We recognize that, in talking about declining systems, the decline may be uneven across the system, with growth being experienced simultaneously in some areas with decline in others. This phenomenon requires a further refinement of the analytical skills we are proposing. Obviously, such a situation presents problems of under and overutilization of certain system facilities and resources. Difficult, and often particularly unpopular political decisions, have to be taken concerning busing of students, closing and consolidation of school buildings, leasing or selling of property, and the like.

While we cannot engage in a lengthy, speculative discussion about alternative solutions to some of the problems in this area, we would urge that new approaches be considered. Let us refer to one example--the basis for provincial resource allocation among school systems. The underlying assumption of foundation grants is that fiscal equalization is the best route to educational equalization. As a result, the grant structure tends to define need in terms of enrolment and to provide resources on that basis. Obviously, such an approach has one major effect: the variety and scope of educational programming tends to be determined by the total number of students in the system. This approach did not cause too much concern, or call for reform, during the period of rapid expansion due to increasing enrolments. However, we are talking about a period of declining enrolments, and the situation is quite different.

Peter Atherton puts forward an interesting alternative to the present basis for educational grants. He suggests that "program analysis" would be more satisfactory from an educational point of view, recognizing that program costs do not decrease in direct proportion to lower enrolment. He contends that it would be better to recognize that the basis of educational finance is teachers and programs and that it would be more realistic to recognize that most costs tend to be fixed over quite a wide range of enrolments because of the need to provide the same basic programs. He suggests that a system of finance that would recognize these facts would begin by defining what constituted a basic and required program in educational terms and proceed by analyzing the quantity of inputs required to provide this program.[15]

Our choice of the foregoing example for elaboration is not accidental. We feel that it provides an illustration of an earlier point about the need

for trustees, teachers, and administrators to engage more actively in planning for education. Administrators in seventy-three school districts that were experiencing decline identified the following three most important areas of concern: excess teaching staff, loss of state funding, and the maintenance of a comprehensive educational program.[16]

Another response to declining enrolments at the local level, is the diversification of services to attract new client groups. While this is a predictable organizational response to decline, trustees and administrators have to ask some searching questions about the feasibility of such diversification. It may be that the role is to provide the facilities (and staff), with the actual programs being administered and operated by other agencies. If, however, the decision is for the system itself to offer and administer diversified programs, questions of appropriateness of facilities and the hiring and/or retraining of staff must be addressed.

There is one final observation on the need for administrators and trustees to develop skills and strategies in the area of long-range planning. Educators are just beginning to understand the extraordinary significance of collective bargaining as public policy making. Collective bargaining stands alongside natural disasters in its capacity for bringing institutions to their knees.[17]

We would argue that contemporary administrators must know much more about labour-management relations than did those of a previous generation. Collective bargaining agreements between boards and teachers touch on all aspects of resource allocation and school operation; several articles of a contract can have significant, long-term effects on continuing costs over the years. Consequently, the administrator must monitor, analyze, and communicate clearly to trustees the cost implications of a contract, not

only in the short term, but also within the future perspective of the system's resources. This also requires trustees to adopt a longer-term perspective than that implied by the typical two-year term of office.

Personnel--Morale and Motivation

The management of personnel within the system is at once the most immediate and potentially the most volatile problem associated with declining enrolments. The human resources of any school system impact most directly on the learning and welfare of the children and youth in our schools--the raison d'être for the whole enterprise. We feel obliged to state the obvious that our entire discussion of the leadership skills and strategies required for a period of retrenchment is premised on the imperative function of providing relevant quality education for the children and youth in our schools. We remind ourselves, and ask you, not to lose sight of this primary mission for public education.

The problems related to morale are fairly obvious upon simple reflection: loss of teaching and administrative positions, reduced mobility within and across school systems, fewer opportunities for assumption of positions of responsibility at all levels in the system, the potential for increased workload and the concomitant decreased satisfaction at all levels from the classroom to the chief executive's office, the potential diminishing of one's relative economic position in the occupational structure of society, and the like. It requires some sorting out, though,to realize that all of these potential problem areas are not of the same kind and degree and that not all of them are related to the economics of decline. While we must never overlook the importance of economic factors in the realm of morale and satisfaction, we do need to be aware of the salience of other non-economic factors.

Fortunately, we do have some measure of control in this area, if we allow ourselves to be more imaginative and creative in the way we organize and utilize human resources and in the way we design reward and incentive systems.

The general literature in educational administration abounds with theoretical formulations and research findings of the "organizational psychologists" in the areas of motivation, satisfaction, morale, and productivity.[18] This literature has penetrated the consciousness of management theorists and practitioners alike and established the insight that administration is indeed a social process, involved with human values and motivations and not simply a mechanistic process.

It was Frederick Herzberg who advanced the notion that, while salaries, employee benefits, and other general conditions of work are important to employees and keep them from being dissatisfied with the organization, the really important factors contributing to satisfaction on the job and to genuine motivation are related to the work itself. It is necessary, of course, for school systems to continue to provide adequate salaries, improved work conditions, and the like. Teachers have continual needs in these areas, even as we all experience hunger each new day no matter how much we have eaten the previous day. A satisfied and professional committed teaching staff, however, must have more than good salaries and favourable working conditions. They must experience recognition and esteem for the challenging work they do, for working with children, for communicating ideas and knowledge, for shaping lives. Morale, in the end, is dependent on the teacher's ability to experience these intrinsic rewards in teaching and working with children, as well as on the more extrinsic aspects of organizational life.

At the risk of oversimplification, we submit here that the satisfactions one receives from work reside with one's primary work group, whether it be teachers with students, principals with teachers, superintendents with principals, directors with superintendents, or trustees with directors and other senior officials, their fellow trustees,and their constituents. This is why we say that, fortunately, we do have some control over these "motivating factors." To make an impact on these factors and ultimately on morale, however, we have to devote considerable attention to the ways in which we organize work--both the content and the nature of the work. We further argue that, in a period of retrenchment, the task is more difficult and requires a high degree of creativity and innovative thinking.

One of the most frequent comments that we hear today relative to declining enrolments is that the rewards of promotion to administrative positions, or indeed of movement to such positions in other systems, are gone. This is an understandable and accurate lament. While many have taken issue with the traditional reward and incentive system--particularly in terms of the teaching talent lost to administration--we have to recognize that these motivators were there and are now virtually lost to our "management survival kit." But rather than bemoan their loss, now is the time to shed the blinkers and to think in more creative ways about how we may replace the traditional rewards.

In another presentation at this conference, you have heard what one school system is doing in this regard. At the risk of being repetitive, let us suggest, without going into great detail, some of the directions that are or could be considered. Many of these examples were identified in our interviews with practicing administrators.

If Herzberg is right, and if we can continue to provide fair and equitable levels of economic compensation, we can turn to the nature and content of work and pay more attention to the opportunities provided for recognition and esteem, without being constrained by the notion that all increased responsibility must be accompanied by a proportional increase in salary. This would suggest that short-term appointments for special purposes--be they curricular, instructional, or supervisory in nature--are a possibility. This would enable teachers to be recognized for effectiveness in a particular area of expertise that could be applied on a wider base than the individual school. Not only can the expertise be recognized during the short-term appointment, but can be reinforced and utilized as a resource to the principal and teachers upon return to the school. This concept of short-term appointment can be extended to any level in the system--a principal could be recognized in this way to share expertise across a family of schools or, indeed, across the system; the same rationale would apply to central level administrators.

The concept of term appointments at the central administrative level is gaining acceptance in some school systems; there is no reason why the concept could not be applied, with the attendant opportunities for recognition and motivation, at the level of the principalship and other resident administrative posts. We feel that it is essential that school systems organize for this kind of infusion of new administrative talent, recognizing that a salient characteristic of declining organizations is the aging of teaching and administrative personnel. We would also urge here that organizations systematically search out such talent in all elements of the system, paying particular attention to an obvioulsy underutilized talent pool--women in the organization.[19]

When we talk about searching out talent, we wish to imply the necessity to provide opportunities for this talent to be developed. It seems that an obvious and popular area for retrenchment is the professional development budget. We submit that a decreasing emphasis on professional development, be there budgetary implications or not, has its own perils. Much professional and personal development can be, and is being, undertaken within the system at no increased cost; witness the opportunity for recognition through the involvement of existing professional staff in the development and offering of such programs. There will, however, continue to be a need for professional development activities to take place outside the system. Here we would support a rethinking of traditional sabbatical leaves. The funds expended for such leaves away from the school system to acquire a certain professional skill that the system will require could be applied to variable lengths of leaves, ranging from weeks to a full year, where necessary.

It is also time to think more seriously about a system's responsibility for career development that extends beyond the boundaries of the system. For example, it is conceivable that school systems could engage in cooperative planning with industry whereby surplus staff could be utilized. Where systems decide to diversify services, there is a responsibility to identify and prepare personnel for types of positions that are new to them, such as programs of continuing education, heritage languages, and early childhood care and education. Further, we need to explore more actively the possibility of collaborating with other school systems in providing certain specialized services--in the areas of curriculum, special education, language education, evaluation, and administration. We should note that the OAEAO, in its recent reorganization towards the objective of a more visible and influential

role in public education, is promoting this concept in the form of a "human resource network" for school systems in Ontario.

We can also see the possibility of a larger school system, with a fairly large cadre of central level administrators, coming to the assistance of a smaller one that has a need to have one of its administrators leave for specialized training. The advantages to both systems can be readily identified. Also, the concept of exchanges between school systems and between school systems and other relevant agencies provides a twofold benefit: recognition and opportunity for growth for the persons involved in the exchange and importation into the system of new thinking and skills.

Quite apart from the strategies discussed thus far, we recognize that some school systems are beginning to explore the possibility of new contractual arrangements with teachers. Many see the need to have greater flexibility in the existing regulations governing probationary contracts, permitting, for example, term contracts of varying lengths, without the implication of subsequent tenure. One can envisage the advantages of having two teachers, each interested in part-time employment, share the same class of students during the school year. This provision would permit a variety of arrangements ranging from part-time responsibilities each day to full-time responsibilities for one term of the instructional year. It is obvious that such modifications would have to be developed cooperatively with the teacher federations.

These suggestions are not exhaustive, either of possibilities or of imagination. They do call for deliberate effort, though, on the part of the chief executive officer and senior administrators. In particular, the director has to spend more time being concerned with the morale and motivation of his immediate work group--the superintendents and their

assistants. In a declining situation, it is not difficult to see the need for a streamlining and a reorganization of the central administrative structure. This could involve the disappearance of certain forms of organization as we have known them, be they area superintendencies or families of schools. This will engage the creative and organizational talent of the director to bring about such changes without destroying the morale and effectiveness of his central administrators. We would argue that the manner in which the director handles this problem associated with decline will have a steering effect on how other administrators relate to and work out accommodations with their primary work groups--superintendents with coordinators, consultants,and principals; principals with department heads and teachers.

The director will be called upon many times to project a sense of optimism in the face of adversity and seemingly insurmountable problems. Dean Acheson, in writing about his experiences in the U.S. Federal Cabinet under President Harry Truman, related an anecdote describing a visit to the White House by one of his colleagues shortly after they left office. Acheson tells about this colleague's meeting a well-known and more genial than informed character who was heading for the President's office. The colleague was told that this character was going in to cheer up the President, to which he responded: "That's funny; in our day the President used to cheer us up." Acheson then draws on a literary reference from Shakespeare's Henry V and observes that a namesake gave the same cheer the night before Agincourt:

> . . . every wretch pining and pale before,
> beholding him, plucks comfort from his looks . . .
> His liberal eye doth give to everyone . . .
> A little touch of Harry in the night.[20]

While we have not explicitly included non-instructional staff in our discussion, this is not to suggest that the same concerns do not apply and that the suggested approaches do not have their parallels in this area.

We have talked about the possibility of cross-system cooperation in sharing professional talent and opportunities for professional development. Short of cooperation of this nature, we would suggest that there is a need for systems to share their concerns, problems, and attempted solutions--the concept of "shared ordeal," if you like, which can have at the least a therapeutic value.

It may be that a prime institutional need is the development of what Kenneth Boulding calls "invisible colleges"--small groups of people with similar tasks who are in close, constant communication and operate as a "discipline" so that the mistakes of one can be avoided by another.[21] In fact, we have recently learned of one approximation of such an "invisible college" here in Ontario. The senior administrators from three boards of education met together in a "think tank" mode to consider the whole problem of morale and motivation in declining school systems. You may wish to inquire of any of the Boards--Hastings, Halton and Lakehead--about their experience with this activity. Indeed, some of our examples have been drawn from their deliberations.

One final comment needs to be made relative to the expectations that trustees hold for their chief executive officer. It seems critical to us that directors are going to have to devote considerable attention to this whole area of morale and motivation. Attention requires time, and we all know from first-hand contacts with directors of education that their time is a scarce resource. Consequently, if trustees share our concern and the expressed concern of directors with whom we have discussed the

management of decline, they will have to modify their expectations for the director to accommodate the fulfillment of this critical task.

It is important to emphasize the management of time. It will be obvious to all that, if your chief executive officer is to direct attention to the concerns and leadership skills identified in this paper, management of time will indeed be imperative. Time is a scarce good. As a result, the values and procedures by which time is allocated are of considerable significance to the management of an enterprise.

This aspect of administrative life is receiving considerable attention by management theorists and practitioners alike. Recent research has indicated that many administrators (including those in education) have the subjective sense that their time is badly allocated. Unless we start from an awareness of what administrators do and some idea of why they organize their lives in the way that they do, we are likely to generate recommendations that are naive. Henry Mintzberg, whose book is considered to be the definitive work in this area to date, reports the findings of five observational studies of the work content and the work characteristics of five senior chief executive officers, one of whom was the chief executive officer of a large suburban school system.[22]

The design of this paper does not permit a discussion of Mintzberg's findings; however, for those who would like to gain some insights into what it is that managers do, how they do it now, and how they could do it more effectively, we recommend that Mintzberg's book be entered into the competition for your reading and reflecting time. Closer to home and involving some of you as subjects, the results of a study on the work of the chief executive officer in Ontario school systems are currently being

analyzed, with a view to publishing a research report that will be of immediate interest and assistance to trustees and administrators alike. Our colleagues, Professors Gerry McLeod and Beverley Brophy, have modified Mintzberg's research design and participant observer methodology to suit the Ontario scene and have conducted observations of sixteen directors of education broadly representative of school systems across the province.[23] With you, we look forward to their study report and anticipate a productive dialogue in many settings on their findings.

With reference to the emphasis on the effective management of the chief executive officer's time, we suspect that the increased need for attention to problems of morale and motivation of personnel will occupy a larger proportion of available time than has been the case during the period of rapid expansion. Interestingly, and perhaps fortuitously, the senior administrators with whom we consulted expressed a desire to spend more time on personnel matters, in the sense of providing professional leadership for the staff. Some went further to suggest that it was this aspect of the role that appealed to them most in seeking and accepting an appointment, only to experience subsequent disappointment and frustration that so much of their time was being devoted to tasks that, while they were often necessary, did not provide the satisfaction that derives from working with and supporting professional colleagues.

Participation and Politics

We now turn to the third area in which we have called for the development of new skills and strategies on the part of trustees and administrators. Simply stated, this area has to do with school governance,

which Herbert Kaufman has described as a search for accommodation among three competing values: representativeness; technical, non-partisan competence; and leadership.[24] We feel that we do not have to document the case that the predominate value on governance in our society today is representativeness, with the resulting demands for participation in policy making and decision making and the inevitable politicization of education in terms of competing values and objectives for education.

In case you gain the impression that we have overlooked the value of leadership, let us assure you that this is not the case; indeed, our paper, while not explicitly talking about leadership to this stage, is all about the skills and strategies that educational leaders--trustees and administrators--require, particularly in a period of retrenchment. We hasten to add, though, that we are talking about a changed context for leadership in education and we hope that our discussion informs and illumines this new context.

Van D. Mueller suggests that the natural tendency is to do nothing about a problem until it has reached full-blown status, thereby narrowing the policy options drastically by continually reacting to the ends of the process instead of their beginnings. He cites an example that has a shock of recognition for all of us: trying to deal with a teacher surplus after a decade of preparing teachers in the face of a projected decline in school enrolments.[25]

What are some of the implications and needed skills and strategies for trustees and administrators who govern and operate school systems in a pluralistic society such as ours? One obvious requirement is that trustees and administrators, as policy makers and decision makers, have to know who their publics are and, further, have to be able to guage the nature and salience of their opinion and power. Caught among many conflicting demands

from students, citizens, teachers, resources, governments, laws, habits, the educational policy maker who bases decisions solely on professional judgment is rare indeed today. Trustees and administrators, hopefully not losing sight of their personal and professional convictions, attempt to reconcile the competing demands that are placed on the system and try to arrive at a decision acceptable to many, if not enthusiastically supported by all. Politics, small p, is the process by which such demands are expressed, aggregated, processed by those with legitimate decision-making authority, and announced as policy to guide the system in accomplishing its purposes and objectives. It can be seen that this conception places the trustee and administrator at the heart of a never-ending political process between community and educational institutions. Managing this process effectively has been, and continues to be, one of the major challenges facing trustees and administrators during the 1970s.

Let us now comment on two examples in this area--two of many that could be chosen--one relating to external publics and the other relating to internal constituencies. Both of our examples interact with skill requirements of the first area we discussed--planning.

One of the frequent demands that we hear today from various sectors of the public is a reduction of funds expended on public education in light of declining enrolments. This is an understandable concern, particularly if you have recently paid your final realty tax bill. But you know, and we know, that expenditures cannot reasonably be expected to decline at the same rate as enrolments. This requires, as noted in the keynote address for this conference, that trustees and administrators communicate clearly, from a sound and informed knowledge base, some of the reasons for this seeming paradox. For example, we must help explain to the public that the cost

structure of education,[26] apart from general inflationary forces, accounts for the perceived imbalance between expenditures and level of enrolments.

In addressing the cost question, we have to explain that the financial difficulties of education during a period of decline will be influenced by administrative and political decisions taken a number of years ago. For instance, consider the price level of teaching services. A substantial part of the rapid rise in teachers' salaries during the sixties and seventies was, and is, a function of the increased level of teacher certification and qualification. The reason for the increase in qualification may be attributed to two causes--the decision of the Ministry of Education to increase levels of education required for certification, and the desire and encouragement of teachers to take advantage of the widely increased offerings of universities and colleges. The effects are, however, the same. More and more teachers are now moving from minimum to maximum salaries across as well as down on the typical salary grid structure.

Another factor that requires elaboration is that overall pupil-teacher ratios were reduced during the time of increasing enrolments and have had a substantial influence on the cost structure of education. Now, as you well know, the PTR has become an item of negotiation in many teachers' contracts. You are also familiar with the espoused rationale offered by teacher federations for decreasing the PTR in a time of declining enrolment: the opportunity to improve the quality of education and to provide increased services to students with exceptional learning needs.

Recently the competing demands were brought home forcefully as two documents crossed our desks on the same day--one, in the form of a newsletter from one of the OSSTF districts exhorting the members to turn the crisis of declining enrolments into opportunities to reduce the PTR and to

improve the quality of education; the other as newspaper reportage of the brief submitted to the Ontario Treasurer by the Board of Trade of Metropolitan Toronto including a prime recommendation that school board expenditures should be geared to the growth or decline in school enrolments. Both of these recommendations include ready and relatively simple solutions to the problem of financing education in a period of decline. Witness our suggestion that trustees and administrators have to be skilled in mediating conflicting attitudes and beliefs and, further, have to be more active in the larger policy-making arena where planning for education takes place.

To return to our example of the need to explain convincingly the nature of the cost structure of education, a third factor will also become increasingly apparent. With the cessation of growth and the consequent reduction in new entrants to the profession, it must be expected that the average experience of teachers will steadily increase. As this happens, the average salary will reflect much more the maxima of the grid patterns than the minima.

Our second example relative to internal constituencies has to do with the collective bargaining process, through which trustees receive demands from the largest internal constituency of professionals--the teachers. We have already cited, in connection with the section on planning, the policy implications and long-term effects of this process as more and more conditions of work get placed on the bargaining table. We mention these again briefly to highlight the political process skills that must be present on the part of trustees and administrators. It is widely recognized that these skills have reached a high level of development and sophistication on the other side of the table.

It must be noted that recent developments in the domain of collective bargaining and the negotiated contract have generally resulted in a

transfer of some power from its traditional locus into new groups--the teacher federations--that must be consulted before certain decisions can be reached. Without this realization, we may underestimate the impact of multiple and overlapping authority systems that govern a school system's teaching force. In a period of decline, it has been observed that teachers tend to accord more authority to their professional associations and less to the traditional authority systems. We would argue that, in the interst of the students in the system, and indeed the larger public interest, a more productive accommodation has to be achieved among these multiple authority systems. In plain language, trustees, administrators,and teachers have to move beyond the rhetoric of an espoused common purpose and into concerted action that will give the purpose of quality education a fighting chance to be fulfilled.

A brief comment in passing about the need for trustees and administrators to be sensitive to the delicate position in which school principals have been placed as a result of the bargaining process. We are not thinking so much of the principal's own personal economic welfare, although that is unquestionably important, but rather the implications of a negotiated,broad-spectrum contract for the exercise of leadership at the school level in areas such as organizing and staffing for effective instruction. Place these constraints alongside the power of some recently established representative school staff allocation committees and you gain an image of a principal as a quarterback for whom practically all possible plays have been determined prior to the game.

Summary and Conclusion

By way of summary, we have presented three important areas in which effective skills and strategies have to be maintained and further developed

by trustees and administrators as they move into, and try to manage creatively, retrenchment in educational organizations. As we indicated earlier, all the skills and strategies we have been discussing are conceived of as those necessary to provide strong and effective leadership for educational systems. In one sense, the skill areas we articulated can be viewed as prerequisites for effective leadership. We are suggesting that the educational leader is one skilled in the areas of planning, personnel, participation and politics.

We have found this emphasis running through the literature on leadership in declining systems. James March, in summarizing recent commentaries on educational administration, emphasizes the importance of four leadership talents: the talent to deal effectively with people, the talent to manage conflict, the talent to mediate between the organization and the broader society, and the talent to manage time.[27] James Kelly conceptualizes administration as leadership, as resource allocation, and as mediation of competing political demands.[28] A symposium of scholars hosted by the Stanford School of Education concluded that an educational leader should be a practicing psychologist, a sociologist, a knowledgeable person in public finance, and a skilled politician.[29]

The common characterization of all of these conceptions is the educational leader as a planner, a resource allocator, a motivator of personnel, and a mediator of conflicting attitudes, points of view, and postures. A heroic conception indeed, but one that is valuable, we feel, in serving to identify where our attention must be directed in order, not only to cope, but to influence positively and creatively the direction and quality of public education in Ontario.

In conclusion, we have argued that the skills of managing a declining institution are not only different from, but are probably, in some sense, greater than those required to manage institutional growth. There is in the former greater need for empathy and for an all too rare mixture of compassion and realism, and for the creative widening of agendas.[30] The manager of a declining institution is required to think of more things that have not been thought of. In a growing institution, mistakes are easily corrected; in a declining institution they are not.

In a serious consideration of the problems and challenges that face public education today, let us not forget that there is room for some trustee and administrator credit lines. They would include you, and your predecessors, those who have carried, and who now carry, the leadership burden of this province's schools. As colleagues who share your commitment to improved educational opportunities for children and youth, our appreciation and best wishes.

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Maccoby argues that effective interpersonal and social skills are too often lacking among the corporate leaders whom he studied. His book provides fascinating reading (appropriate to enter into the competition on your night table) and describes a further development of the popular view of the smoothly functioning corporate leader that has held sway since the 1950s through David Reisman's The Lonely Crowd (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950) and William Whyte's The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

Maccoby identifies four social character types among corporate executives: the craftsman, the jungle fighter, the company man, and the gamesman. He typifies the new corporate executive as the gamesman--a more dynamic, adventurous, flexible, and competitive leader than his counterparts of the 1950s. He expresses concern, though, that this new type of leader does not display qualities of empathy and compassion. In his extraordinary chapter on "The Head and the Heart," Maccoby describes how the separation of ambitions and human feelings within an individual can render him unhappy and dissatisfied even as he succeeds--a sobering thought for the educational leader we have been describing in this paper.